SOME NEW BOOKS.

Bryce's American Commonwealth.

The third edition of the *American Commonwealth*, by JAMES BRYCE (Macmillans), has been carefully revised throughout, and the facts upon which the conclusions are founded have been brought up to date. All difficult and controverted points have been reconsidered. Large additions have been made to many chapters, and four entirely new chapters have been inserted. The weak point of the book is one conspicuous also in the works of Bancroft and Hildreth, and in the writings of almost all American students of our Federal Constitution. We have lately had occasion to point out that Dr. C. Ellis Stevens is the first to demonstrate consecutively and exhaustively that, to an extent hitherto unsuspected, our Federal organic law, instead of being an unprecedented product of original, philosophic wisdom, was, in fact, a mere compilation of provisions already familiar in the then existing Constitution of the thirteen States. We may feel certain that in the next edition of a work which, on the whole, has had no parallel since that of De Tocqueville, Mr. Bryce will profit by the flood of light which, by a simple comparison of documents, Dr. Stevens has been able to throw on the sources of our national Constitution. Meanwhile the absence of this light must be held to constitute the principal shortcoming in the otherwise remarkable work before us.

In the present notice we confine ourselves to the chapters in the second volume that deal respectively with the organs of public opinion, with the present and future of the negro, with territorial extension, and woman suffrage.

I.

Mr. Bryce is one of the few foreigners who has fully recognized the fact that in the United States public opinion is a power not satisfied with choosing executive and legislative agents at certain intervals, but continuously watching and guiding those agents who look to it not merely for a vote of approval when the next general election arrives, but also for directions which they are eager to obey so soon as they have learned their meaning. This is a truth well known to all intelligent Americans, whether in office or outside of it, and woful is the fate of those who learn it too late. Bagehot was wrong in his famous simile, whereby he likened the American people to Samson, saying that, when they had once exercised their power over the Federal Government by choosing a President, their power went out of them, as it did from Samson when his locks were shorn, and that, until the emblem of their strength was grown again, they had to wait like the Hebrew champion, "Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves."

The truth is, that the American people, possessing through the House of Representatives the power over the purse and of impeachment, a Philistine executive lives in sleepless terror of them, not knowing when their hair may grow.

Having recognized that public opinion in the United States is not only the original source but the incessant exerciser of supreme power, Mr. Bryce perceives also that the organs of opinion are necessarily more efficient in this country than they are even in England or in France. He is too sagacious to be deluded by the modest and deprecatory reassurances, sometimes heard from the real readers of the press, that they are only the speaking tubes of convictions and wishes already formulated by the people. The truth, of course, is, as he says, that an organ of public opinion is not merely the expression of views and tendencies already in existence, but a factor in further developing and moulding the judgment of the people. Opinion makes opinion. Men follow in the path which they see others tread in; they hasten to adopt the view that seems likely to prevail. Hence every weighty voice, like that of an honest, a respected, and an eloquent newspaper, is at once the disclosure of an existing force and a further force influencing others. But, while it is admitted in this book that the newspaper press stands by common consent first among the organs of opinion, it seems to Mr. Bryce that few things are harder than to estimate its power and state concisely in what that power consists. Essaying these difficult tasks, he points out that newspapers are influential in three ways, namely, as narrators, as advocates, and as weather cocks. In the first of these functions Mr. Bryce concedes that the American press is the most active in the world. Nothing escapes it which can attract any class of readers. From its omnivorous appetite for news he acknowledges that much harm may come, but he expresses the opinion that possibly as much good may result. "If," he says, "in its heedlessness the press sometimes causes pain to the innocent, it does a great and necessary service in exposing evildoers, many of whom would escape, were it never to speak except upon sufficient evidence. It is a watchdog whose noisy bark must be tolerated, even when the person who approaches has no bad intent. No doubt charges are so promiscuously and often so lightly made as to tell less than they would in a country where the law of libel was more frequently appealed to. But many abuses are unveiled, many more prevented by the fear of publicity." Equally clear is it to Mr. Bryce that, as the advocates of political doctrines, newspapers in the United States are powers because they are universally read and often ably written. They are sometimes accused of unfairness and vituperation, but the author of this book can detect no marked difference in this effect between their behavior and that of European papers at a time of excitement. Neither has he been able to discover that their arguments are addressed any more frequently than in Europe to prejudice rather than to reason. If, in America, a leading article carries less weight of itself, it is not for the reason that Mr. Bryce alleges, viz., that it is discounted by shrewd readers, but because the vast area of the republic and the absence of a capital, in the sense that London or Paris is a capital, prevents any one paper from winning its way to complete predominance.

Passing to the third capacity of the newspaper press, that, namely, of serving as an index and mirror of public opinion, Mr. Bryce notes that this is the function which it chiefly aims to discharge, and he observes that, in deferring to it, "public men feel that they are propitiating and inviting the commands of public opinion itself. In worshipping the Deity you learn to conciliate the priest." To the question how, if the organs of public opinion often give a discordant and therefore uncertain sound, public opinion can with truth be said not only to reign, but to govern, Mr. Bryce's answer is that a sovereign is not the less a sovereign because his commands are sometimes misheard or misreported. In the United States every one listens; strained is the ear to catch them. Those who manage the affairs of the country obey to the best of their capacity of hearing, unless insane or idiotic. They do not, as has been heretofore the case in Europe, act on their own view and ask the people to ratify it. On the contrary, they take the course which they believe the people at the moment desire. American leaders do not, as sometimes still happens in England, seek to force or anticipate opinion; or, if they do, they suffer grievously for the blunder by provoking reaction. The American people will not be hurried, and a statesman is not expected to move ahead of them. Mr. Bryce says truly that those who fail because they mistake eddies and cross currents for the main stream of opinion, fail more often from some personal bias or from vanity, or from hearkening to a clique of adherents, than from want of materials for observation. The remarks on this subject end as follows: "A man who can disengage himself from preconception, who is in genuine sympathy with his countrymen, and possesses the art of knowing where to look for physical manifestations of their sentiment will find the organs through which opinion finds expression more adequate, as well as more abundant, in America than they are in any other country."

II.

Mr. Bryce closes a discussion of the condition of the South since the war, with the observation that "but for one difficulty, the South might well be thought to be the most promising part of the Union, that part whose advance is likely to be swiftest, and whose prosperity will be not the least secure. The difficulty, however, is a serious one. It lies in the presence of seven millions of negroes." It is this difficulty which forms the subject of an interesting chapter on the present and future of the colored race in this country. The author of this book begins by marking the dominating fact of the political and social situation, created by the presence of a large colored element, the fact, namely, that the whites are increasing much more rapidly than the blacks. In 1790, the negroes constituted 19.3 per cent., or nearly one-fifth of the whole population of the Union. In 1880, they were 13.1 per cent.; in 1890, they were but 11.9, or considerably less than one-eighth. Their rate of increase over the whole country in the last census decade was 13.51, while that of the whites was 26.68. Even in the former slave States, which received very few emigrants from Europe, the increase of the whites during that decade was 24.67, and that of the negroes only 13.9 per cent., or little more than half the rate shown by the whites; while in the eight States where the blacks are relatively most numerous, the percentage of increase of the white population is 29.63, and that of the negroes only 19.10. It thus appears that, except in certain parts of these eight States, where physical conditions favorable to the growth of the colored population prevail, the whites increase everywhere faster than the negroes, and the latter form a relatively decreasing element.

As regards the economic and industrial state of the seven millions of negroes, it is recognized that the conditions vary widely in different parts of the country. In one point only are those conditions uniform. Everywhere, alike in the border States, and in the farthest South, in the cities both great and small, and in the rural districts, the colored population constitute the poorest and socially lowest stratum, corresponding in this respect to the new immigrants in the Northern States, although they are far more sharply and permanently divided than are those immigrants from the classes above them. They furnish nine-tenths of the unskilled labor, and a still larger proportion of the domestic and hotel labor. Some, though a comparatively small number, have found their way into the skilled handicrafts, such as joinery and metal works; but in textile factories they are deemed decidedly inferior to the whites; the whirr of the machinery is said to daze them or send them to sleep. On the other hand, they handle tobacco better than the whites, and practically monopolize this large industry. In all the cities a great part of the small retail trade is in their hands, as are also such occupations as those of barber, shoeblack, street vender in drinks or fruits, together with the humbler kinds of railway service. In the rural districts, the immense majority are either hired laborers or tenants of small farms, the latter class becoming more numerous the further South one goes into the hot and malarious regions where the white man is less disposed to work on his own lands. In these hot lowlands, the negro lives much as he lived on the plantations in the old days, except that he works less, because a moderate amount of labor produces enough for his bare subsistence. No railway comes near him. He sees no newspapers. He is scarcely at all in contact with any one above his own condition. Thus there are places, the cities especially, where the negro is improving industrially, because he has to work hard and comes into constant relation with the whites; and other places, where he need work very little, and where, being left to his own resources, he is in danger of relapsing into barbarism.

Surveying the condition of the negro, however, as a whole, Mr. Bryce finds that while at present the influence of books is confined to extremely few, and even that of newspapers is restricted to a small fraction of the colored people, yet the number of those upon whom books and newspapers play, and in whom democratic ideas stimulate discontent with the present inferiority of their people, is steadily, and, in some districts, rapidly increasing. Stress is laid, moreover, on the fact that the influence of industry is but another name for the influence of self-help. Every day's work that the negro has done since he became a freedman has helped him. Most of the work, indeed, is rough work, whether on the land or in the cities, and is done for low wages, but the number of those who, either as owners or as tenant farmers, raise their own crops for the market, and of those who are finding their way into skilled employments, is incessantly augmented. To raise crops for the market is an education in thrift, foresight, and business aptitude, as well as in agriculture; to follow a skilled industry is to train the intelligence as well as the hand, and the will as well as the intelligence. Against the industrial progress of the negro Mr. Bryce sets two depressing phenomena. One is the increase of insanity, very marked during the last few decades; the other, not unconnected with the former, is the large amount of crime. Most of it is petty crime, chiefly thefts of hogs and poultry, but there are also a good many crimes against women. Seventy per cent. of the convicts in Southern jails are negroes. This is a proportion double that of their numbers. Even in the district of Columbia more than half the arrests are among the colored people, though they form only one-third of the inhabitants.

To the author of this book there seems something pathetic in the eagerness of the negroes to obtain school instruction. They have a notion that the want of book learning is what keeps them below the whites, and that, by acquiring it, they may raise themselves in the industrial scale. If merely figures are looked at, elementary education would seem to have made extraordinary progress among the blacks. In the former slave States there are now 52 per cent. of the colored population of school age enrolled on the books of common schools. When it is remembered that thirty-five years ago only an infinitesimal percentage were at school at all, and that, in many States, it was a penal offence to teach a negro to read, the advance made is remarkable. Mr. Bryce perceives, however, that it must not be concluded from these figures that nearly the whole of the colored population are growing up possessed even of the rudiments of education. The school terms are so short in most of the Southern States, that a large number of whites, and a still larger number of colored children, receive too little teaching to enable them to read and write with ease. The supply of qualified teachers for the colored schools is greatly below the needs of the case. The total number is, at present, only 24,150, with 1,324,937 pupils to teach. The lack of teachers is due to the fact that the amount of higher education, that is of seminary, collegiate, or university education, attainable by the negroes is incomparably smaller than that obtainable by the whites.

III.

Industry, religion, school instruction—all these are but secondary agents for the elevation of the lowest stratum in any society. The most potent agency in the uplifting of the humbler and more ignorant sections of a community has always been their intercourse with those who are more advanced. It is here that Mr. Bryce lays his finger upon the root of the negro difficulty. In the United States it is by social commixture with the native citizens that European immigrants become so quickly assimilated, the British in two or three years, the Germans and Scandinavians in eight or ten. But the precondition of such commixture is the absence of race repulsion, and especially the possibility of inter-marriage. In the case of the American negro the race repulsion exists, and fusion by intermarriage is deemed impossible. The day of his liberation was also the day when the whites began to shun intercourse with him and when opinion began to condemn, not merely regular marriage with a person of color, for that had been always forbidden, but even an illicit union. The difference, however, in the attitude of the whites toward the blacks in the Northern and in the Southern States is carefully distinguished. In the North, there was, before the war, a marked aversion to the negroes, and a complete absence of social intercourse with them. But the sympathy felt for the blacks during the civil war, and the disposition to protect them shown by the Republican party during the reconstruction period, have modified this aversion, and they have now comparatively little to complain of in the North. They are occasionally admitted to some inferior political office, or even to a seat in a State Legislature. The Women's Christian Temperance Union receives them as members, and so does the Grand Army of the Republic, though they are grouped in distinct posts. People sometimes take pleasure in going out of their way to compliment them. Nevertheless, there is practically no social intermixture of white and colored people. Except on the Pacific coast, a negro never sits down to dinner with a white man in a railway refreshment room. He is not received in a hotel of the better class, no matter how rich he may be. He is not shaved in a place frequented by white men. He worships at a church of his own. You never encounter him at a private party. No native white woman would dream of receiving his addresses. Nor does it make any difference that he is three parts or seven parts white if the stain of color can still be discerned. Kindly condescension is the best he can look for, accompanied by equality of access to a business or profession. Social equality is utterly out of his reach.

In the South, on the other hand, the whites had before the war no sense of personal repulsion for the negro. The legal inequality was so immense that familiarity was not felt to involve any disturbance of the attitude of command. With emancipation there must needs have come a change, but the change would have come more gently and left a better relation subsisting, had it not been for the unhappy turn which things took in the reconstruction period under the dominance of the negro vote. Even as it is, there is not among the educated whites of the South any hostility to the colored race as a race. The poor whites, however, dislike the negroes, resent the slightest assumption of equality on the part of the latter, and show their hatred by violence, sometimes even by ferocity, when any disturbance arises, or when a negro fugitive has to be pursued. Except so far as it is involved in domestic service, the servants of the South being nearly all negroes, there is little intercourse between whites and blacks. In many States the law requires the railroad and even the horse car companies to provide separate cars for the latter. In most parts of the South a person of color cannot enter a public refreshment room used by the whites except as a servant of the whites, and one may see a most respectable and perhaps even educated colored woman, sometimes almost white, forced into the colored car among rough negroes, while the black nurse in charge of a white child is admitted to the white car. The two races are everywhere taught in distinct schools and colleges, though in one or two places negroes have been allowed to study in the medical or law classes. They worship in different churches. They have distinct Young Men's Christian Associations. With some exceptions, in the case of unskilled trades, they are not admitted to trades unions. In concert halls and theatres, if the colored are admitted at all, it is to an inferior part of the theatre. Intermarriage is, in every Southern State, forbidden by law, and, so far as Mr. Bryce could ascertain, illegitimate children from parents of different bloods are very few.

Under so complete a system of separation, it is clear that the influence of social intercourse between whites and blacks, an influence to which domestic slaves before the war owed much, now counts for little. But the author points out that the attitude of the Southern whites toward the blacks means much more than the suspension of a civilizing agency. There is evidence to show that the colored generation which has grown up since the war, and which has been in less close touch with the white people than were the slaves and freedmen of the last generation, is much less friendly to them. The whites perceive this, and the lower class among them become still more suspicious and violent. In this situation obviously lie possibilities of danger.

Proceeding to consider the problems of the future, Mr. Bryce asks how the determination of the whites to rule is to be reconciled with the possession by the negroes of equal rights of suffrage. And how can the social severance or antagonism of the two races, the haughty assertion of superiority by the whites and the suppressed resentment of the more advanced among the colored people, be prevented from ripening into a settled distrust and hostility which may affect the peace and prosperity of the South for centuries to come? As regards the first point, Mr. Bryce perceives that all three of the remedies suggested for the present practical exclusion of the negroes from the suffrage in the Southern States are impracticable. It was proved in 1892 that a great majority of the Northern people would refuse to tolerate a Force bill, and there was no need of evidence that the whole South would resist it. Neither, if it were possible to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, would the Southern States be willing under the Fourteenth Amendment to exclude negroes from the suffrage by law at the cost of reducing proportionately their representation in the Congress and in the Presidential electoral colleges. The third proposal that the suffrage should be limited by some educational qualifications, though it has been adopted in Mississippi and discussed in Louisiana, has but little chance of acceptance in most of the Southern States. It would disfranchise too many of the poor whites. The events of the last year have shown that the author of this book is right in his forecast that the present system will continue for some time to come, the negroes growing less and less interested in their right of suffrage, and the whites by degrees losing the apprehensions that now fill their minds, until eventually questions will appear which will so divide the whites that both parties will see their advantage in capturing the negro vote. Each party will try to win it over, and each will get a share of it. It may then, having lost its former solidarity, be absorbed into the vote of the white parties; and though it will still be comparatively uninstructed, and perhaps largely venal, the suppression of the last twenty years will have passed away.

IV.

As to the graver social problem raised by the co-existence on the same soil and under the same free government of two races so widely differing that they do not intermingle, it is pointed out that time, so far from abating the mischief, seems, during the last thirty or forty years, to have agravated it. The problem is, moreover, a new one in history, for the relations of the ruling and subject races in Europe and Asia supply no parallel. Whoever examines the records of the past will find that the continued juxtaposition of two races has always been followed either by the disappearance of the weaker or by the intermixture of the two. Where race antagonism still remains, as in parts of eastern Europe and in Asia, though one race or religion may be for the moment dominant over another, there is no necessary or permanent distinction between them; and there is, if the religious difficulty can be overcome, a possibility of intermarriage. In western South America the Spanish settlers have, to some extent, mingled their blood with that of the native Indians, and they may ultimately become as much blent with the latter as has befallen in Mexico. The peculiar feature of the race problem as it presents itself in the United States is that the negroes, in many districts constituting one-third or even one-half of the population, are forced to live in the closest local contiguity with the whites, and are, for the purposes of industry, indispensable to the latter, and yet are so sharply cut off from the whites by color, and all that color means, that not merely a mingling of blood but any social approximation is regarded with horror, and a perpetual severance is deemed a law of nature. Of the three remedies suggested, Mr. Bryce avers that not one is feasible, and thereby proves the thoroughness of his acquaintance with this country. To the plan of exporting the Southern negroes to Africa there are two fatal objections. One is that they will not go; the other that the whites cannot afford to let them go. Also dismissed as outside the range of practical politics is the alternative plan of setting apart for the colored people certain districts of the country and transferring them thither, as Oliver Cromwell drove the wild Irish into Connaught. Even more inadmissible is the suggestion that the method by which race antagonisms have been so often removed in the past in the Old World, and to some extent, as in Mexico, in the New World also, may eventually be applied in the United States; that is to say, that the two races may be blent by intermarriage into one. To all Southern sentiment, such a suggestion is shocking, and Mr. Bryce can see no chance of an abatement of the feeling within any assignable time. Revolutions in sentiment are no doubt conceivable, but they are more rare than revolutions in politics. The conclusions arrived at, then, are three: The negro will stay in North America; he will stay locally intermixed with the whites; he will stay socially distinct as an alien element, unabsorbed and unabsorbable.

V.

The chapter on territorial extension, though it may be open to criticism in certain details, bears witness to a remarkable knowledge of the drift of American opinion on the part of Mr. Bryce. He sees that the notion that, in the judgment of American citizens, the limits of natural expansion have been reached requires some qualification. The belief that the United States ought to include at least all the English and French speaking communities of North America is an old one. Repeated efforts were made before and during the War of Independence to induce Canada, Nova Scotia, and even the Bermuda Islands to join the revolted colonies. The Articles of Confederation provided that Canada should be admitted to the Union instantly on her own application, although the consent of nine States was requisite for the admission of any other colony. For many years after the Revolution the view continued to be expressed that no durable peace with Great Britain could exist so long as she retained possessions on the North American continent. It was, at one time, deemed a matter of course that the United States would seek to annex Canada, peaceably if possible, but if not, then by force of arms. The fact is recalled that, even so late as 1864, Englishmen were constantly told that the first result of the triumph of the Federal armies in the war of secession would be to launch a host flushed with victory against the Canadian Dominion. The power of the United States is now far greater than it was in 1865, and Mr. Bryce recognizes that it would not be easy for Britain and Canada effectively to defend a frontier so long and so naturally weak as is that which separates the Dominion from its neighbors on the south. He is perfectly right, however, when he says that, if the absorption of Canada comes about, it will be at the wish and by the act of the Canadians themselves rather than as the result of any external force. It is frankly acknowledged that the geographical position of Canada toward the United States, and particularly the increasingly close relation which must exist between her western provinces, Manitoba and British Columbia, and their southern neighbors, suggests that, sooner or later, political union will be effected. Attention is directed to the little difference which exists between the populations, save that there is a stronger Scotch element in western Canada than in Minnesota, Dakota, Montana, and Washington, where, especially in the two former, are to be found far more Germans and Scandinavians than in Manitoba. It is likewise admitted that the material growth of Canada would probably be quickened by union, and Mr. Bryce thinks that the plan of a commercial league or customs union might, if carried out, lead to political fusion, on the ground that it is hard to see how otherwise Canada could have a fair share in adjusting such tariff changes as might from time to time become necessary. As regards the country south of us, it is suggested that the process by which Texas was severed from Mexico and brought into the Union may be repeated in a more peaceful way by the steady infiltration of an American population. It is all but impossible for a feeble State, full of natural wealth which her people do not use, not to crumble under the impact of a stronger and more enterprising race. All experience points to the detachment of province after province from Mexico and its absorption into the American Union; nor, when the process has once begun, need it stop till in a time to be measured rather by decades than by centuries, the petty republics of Central America have been also swallowed up, and the predominant influence, if not the territorial frontier of the United States, has advanced to the Isthmus of Panama.

It is noted finally, in connection with this subject, that there is one spot beyond the limits of the North American continent in which Americans have, ever since 1843, declared that they feel directly interested. The reference is to the island group of Hawaii, which lies 2,000 miles to the southwest of San Francisco, but which, as Mr. Bryce does not fail to mention, is less distant from the American coast than are some of the Aleutian Islands, which were acquired when Alaska was purchased. Aside from the question of distance, the Americans conceive that the position of these isles over against their own Western coast would be so threatening to their commerce in a war between the United States and any naval power that they cannot suffer the islands to be occupied by or even to fall under the influence of any European nation.

VI.

In a chapter on woman's suffrage Mr. Bryce has collected nearly all the facts obtainable down to the date when his book went to press. It is pointed out that in two States, Wyoming and Colorado, the franchise has been extended to women for all purposes. In Kansas in 1886 and in Michigan in 1893 women received the suffrage in all municipal elections, though in the last-named State the law has since been declared unconstitutional. In twenty States besides Wyoming and Colorado women are allowed to vote at elections of school officers or on some questions connected with schools, and in at least nine other States, as well as in all, or nearly all, of these twenty, they may be chosen to fill school offices, such as that of school visitor or superintendent or member of a school committee. They also enjoy "school suffrage" in the Territory of Arizona, and sporadically in a few cities. In two States, Arkansas and Mississippi, women have the right of voting, though not in person, upon the question of granting licenses for the sale of intoxicants. A bill to confer the same right was lost in the Massachusetts Legislature of 1888 by a majority of only one vote. A similar proposal was defeated in the Legislature of Iowa in the same year. In Washington, on the other hand, although the Territorial Legislature had twice extended the franchise to women, the people, in enacting their State Constitution (1889), pronounced against female suffrage by a majority of two to one; and a good authority declared to Mr. Bryce that most of the women were well pleased to lose the privilege. The refusal of the New York State Constitutional Convention even to submit the question to the people is pronounced a serious discouragement to the movement, so far as the Atlantic States are concerned. On the whole, Mr. Bryce is inclined to think that the proportion of women who desire the suffrage is smaller in America than in England. Of the many American ladies whose opinions he inquired, an enormous majority expressed themselves hostile, and the significant fact is noted that there has been formed a Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of America, whereas in England no similar organization has been ever created among either men or women. To those American women who are cheered by the remarkable progress which the movement for female suffrage has made in England, Mr. Bryce points out that it has some advantages in England which it wants in the United States. In England a section of the Liberal party, which is apt to be the party of theory and sentiment, has favored it because less afraid of change and more disposed to admit every one to political power; while the Tory party has latterly much more generally, though not universally, favored it, in the belief that women are conservative in their tendencies, and would support the Established Church and established institutions generally. The movement has thus had the rare good fortune of drawing support from both camps, though for different reasons. In the United States, on the other hand, most of the leaders of both the great parties are unfriendly, perhaps because the introduction of a vast mass of new voters might strain the party machinery, and bring in an incalculable, and, therefore, disagreeable element. Both parties already dislike the Prohibitionists, because they cut across the legitimate party organizations and contests; the introduction of women would, it is thought, aggravate this mischief. It may be said that this ought to commend the suffrage movement to the Mugwumps, or, as Mr. Bryce prefers to call them, the Reformers or Independents, who attack the so-called machine men of both the Republican and Democratic parties. In point of fact, however, very few of these reformers advocate woman's suffrage, apparently because they are opposed to sentimentalism and think that politics as now practised would do more harm to women than women could possibly do good to politics. Such are some of the reasons which make Mr. Bryce, who undoubtedly deserves the name of an impartial observer, doubt whether full political suffrage, as distinguished from school or municipal suffrage, is likely to be granted to women in many States of the Union within the next thirty years.

We should have liked to mark what Mr. Bryce has to say on the supposed and actual faults of American democracy, and the value of American experience to Europe. But these topics must be reserved for another occasion.

M. W. H.

The Forest Flora of Japan.

Prof. CHARLES SPRAGUE SARGENT, director of the Arnold Arboretum, near Boston, has completed a companion volume to his inestimable work, "The Silva of North America," and it has just been published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

In the autumn of 1892 Prof. Sargent made an extended trip through the northern and central islands of Japan, for the purpose of studying Japanese trees in their relations to those of North America. Having an excellent knowledge of the flora of Japan before starting for that country, and while there enjoying unrestricted privileges of observation and research, he had extraordinary facilities for acquiring specific information regarding the silva of that interesting land. Aside from the notes which he then made, and which form the substance of this book, he secured herbarium specimens of every kind of tree and shrub he met with for study and comparison at home; also a vast quantity and variety of seeds of the denizens of the forests, from which tens of thousands of young trees are now growing at the Arnold Arboretum, besides as many more that have been distributed from there to other establishments throughout this country and Europe. He tells us of the forests of Japan as they exist, where they are, why they are there, and of what they are composed, and shows us the evils of the reckless and indiscriminating wood cutting that is practised in the central and southern islands. He calls our attention to several new trees, settles the identity of some others, and advises us as regards what species for ornamental or useful purposes are likely to prove desirable plants for us to cultivate. And the work is embellished with twenty-six page plants of the rarer or more important trees of Japan.

In the four islands of Yezo, Hondo, Shikoku, and Kyushu there are 220 species of trees, divided among 99 genera. Between Labrador and the Rio Grande, and from the east base of the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic, exclusive of Florida, there are 225 species of trees, divided among 134 genera. The whole flora of Japan contains about 2,500 species of plants, of which 550 are trees and shrubs—a larger percentage than occurs in North America.

The aggregation of species of trees in Japan is the most striking feature of the silva of that country. On an area a few miles square, near Sapparo, the Professor noted and enumerated 62 species and varieties of trees, or more than a quarter of all the kinds of trees of the empire. This is not surpassed anywhere outside of the tropics, except in the lower basin of the Ohio River in southern Indiana, where on a few acres 75 species of trees, in 36 genera, have been counted. Of endemic genera of trees eastern America contains 15 and Japan only 5.

Yezo, the northern island, is practically an unsettled country, and it contains vast and magnificent virgin forests of the best kinds of timber, such as oak, ash, walnut, fir, cherry, cercidiphyllum, and so forth. In the remote and almost inaccessible mountain regions of Hondo fine forests yet remain, but the accessible parts, and more particularly the two southern islands, have been completely deforested, every tree big enough to cut has been chopped down and used, and it is only in the temple grounds and parks, and where planted elsewhere, that large timber trees can now be found. Japan is suffering keenly from this wanton indifference. The foothills of the mountains have been completely denuded of forest growth and are now covered with coarse herbage, and as the dry grass is burned off every year, all seedling trees that might otherwise spring up and grow are also destroyed.

The carpet of the forest is distinctly different from what it is in America, and consists of an almost unbroken thicket of dwarf bamboos; and arising from this thicket and climbing high into the trees is a wealth of woody vines, such as Old World ivy, poison ivy, grapevines, climbing hydrangeas, evergreen evonymus, actinidias, and wistarias.

The Japanese have been planting and cultivating trees for over twelve centuries, and several of the trees and shrubs common about the towns, cities, roadsides, and in the temple grounds, which we used to regard as indigenous in Japan, do not belong to that country at all, but mostly to China or Corea. Among these may be mentioned Sophora Japonica, Paulownia imperialis, Eriobotrya Japonica, Spiræa Japonica, Berberis Japonica, Daphne Genkwa, Citrus Japonica, Olea fragrans, Forsythia suspensa, and Nandina domestica, all common plants in our gardens here, and generally credited to Japan.

In Yezo and the mountains of Hondo the weather is very cold in winter, but a heavy coating of snow rests upon the ground through the season, and there are no summer or autumn droughts in Japan, such as we experience in America. No doubt this accounts for the presence of so many kinds of evergreen trees and shrubs thriving in the vigorous climate of the northern mountains.

Five genera of the magnolia family occur in Japan, only four in the United States. Japan has three species of magnolias, two of these, namely, M. Kobus and M. salicifolia, unlike any American species, produce their flowers before their leaves appear in spring; the third, M. hypoleuca, somewhat resembles our M. tripetala. Other species, as Watsoni, parviflora, obovata, and stellata, generally considered to be natives of Japan, are introduced and cultivated but not indigenous in that country. In the damp, rich forests of Yezo M. hypoleuca becomes a timber tree 100 feet high; it has large leaves and showy, fragrant flowers. In the Hokkaido forests M. Kobus becomes a pretty tree 70 to 80 feet high. Its white flowers are not showy. At an elevation of 2,000 to 3,000 feet on Mount Hakkoda, magnolia salicifolia, a slender tree 15 to 20 feet high is common. Its flowers have not yet been seen. Its leaves when bruised exhale an odor of anise seed. There are no evergreen magnolias in Japan, but the closely allied Michelia compressa, a tree 30 to 40 feet high, reaches into Japan, and is hardy at Tokio; and Illicium religiosum, another relative and a beautiful little evergreen tree, is regarded as a native of the southern islands.

Cercidiphyllum and Trochodendron are monotypic and endemic to Japan. The cercidiphyllum on the moist slopes of the low hills of Yezo is one of the largest and most valuable deciduous trees, often as high as 100 feet, with a trunk 3 to 4 feet in diameter. It is quite hardy here in New England. Trochodendron aralioides is a small evergreen tree not infrequent in Japanese gardens, but Prof. Sargent did not find it growing wild.

In southern Japan, Camellia Japonica becomes a tree thirty to forty feet high. The flowers of the wild plant are red, single, cup-shaped, and never fully expand. But as a garden plant the camellia is not much esteemed there. The tea plant, C. theifera, is not a native of the empire, but has been introduced from China and Assam. Eurya Japonica is common in the southern islands. In America we have two Stuartias, namely, S. Virginica and S. Pentagyna, both handsome summer-flowering shrubs. In Japan there are also two or three species, S. Pseudo-Camellia, common on the Hakone and Nikko Mountains, and which is in cultivation in the United States; and S. monodelpha and S. serrata, neither of which the Professor saw plants of. Actinidia arguta, a vigorous, handsome vine, and A. Polygama and A. Kolomikta, more slender vines, were also found. The first two are in cultivation here; the last named has not yet been introduced. Of recent years a good deal has been said in favor of the fruit of A. arguta, but Prof. Sargent considers the fruit insipid and the praise exaggerated.

There are two lindens in the forests of Japan, and both of them are hardy in New England. One, Tilia miqueliana, forms a large, handsome tree 100 feet high; the other is almost identical with the Tilia ulmifolia of Europe.

The handsomest broad-leaved evergreen tree in the forests of Japan is a holly (Ilex latifolia) from the south, with very large, lustrous leaves, and large scarlet fruit that hangs on the trees all winter. It should be hardy with us south of Washington. A beautiful evergreen holly named I. Sugeroki, from southern Yezo, the professor recommends for trial in our Northern gardens; also a black elder or deciduous holly, Ilex macropoda.

There are nine species of evonymus in Japan. E. Japonicus, well known in our gardens, makes a handsome small evergreen tree, and the climbing form of it, which we call radicans, climbs high the trunks of trees in the Hondo Mountains. The variety Hambletonius of the European spindle tree, a bold, handsome plant, is common in the mountains; so, too, is the winged evonymus (E. alatus), a desirable shrub with us, and the only deciduous species of this genus which the Japanese grow in their gardens.

The Japanese horse chestnut (Æsculus turbinata) is a noble tree 80 to 100 feet high, in general appearance not unlike the common horse chestnut of our gardens, which is Grecian, but it has smaller and yellow flowers and smooth fruits. It inhabits the high mountains of the southern islands. In North America there are nine species of maples; in Japan, at least twenty. But the Japanese maples are shrubs, or small or medium sized trees only; there is nothing there to compare in grandeur or usefulness with our arborescent species. Acer pictum, 50 feet high, and not unlike our sugar maple, is Japan's commonest maple; Acer Japonicum and A. palmatum, both small trees, and plentiful in the forests and planted in gardens, are the parents of the fancy-leaved sorts common in our gardens. Acer Miyabei, 30 to 40 feet high, is a new species recently found in Hokkaido, and nearly allied to the European Norway maple. The hornbeam-leaved maple (A. carpinifolium), 30 feet high, makes a handsome round-topped tree in Nikko, but it is rare even in Japan. Acer diabolicum, looking like the European sycamore maple, makes a tree 20 or 30 feet high. Acer rufinerve looks like our moosewood, and on the high mountain slopes a maple, perhaps identical with our mountain maple (Acer spicatum), is found. Of negundo, or box elder maples, there are two in Japan. One, A. cissifolium, is a handsome round-headed little tree that thrives well with us. The other, A. Nikoense, is a distinct and beautiful tree of 40 to 50 feet, whose leaves in the fall are brilliant and beautiful, becoming scarlet on the upper surface, but remaining pale on the under side. It is hoped it may prove hardy in eastern America.

The Japanese lacquer tree (Rhus vernicifera) is the most valuable plant of the genus to man, but it is not a native of the country; it was probably introduced from China long ago. The Japan rhuses are not as handsome as the American sumachs. Rhus semialata, a small tree bearing large terminal panicles of yellowish-white flowers in August, is the most ornamental. Rhus tricho carpa, a small tree, common in Yezo, should be cultivated with us for its brilliant autumn foliage. Our poison ivy is very common in Hondo and Yezo, where it grows to the tops of the tallest trees, and colors splendidly, even assuming deep shades of crimson.

Leguminous trees are few in Japan. We find Albizzia Julibrissin, the mimosa-like tree grown in our Southern States, and an extra fine form of Maackia Amurensis. The Japanese honey-locust (Gleditsia Japonica), however, Prof. Sargent regards as the most beautiful of the genus. On the banks of the Kisogawa it attains a height of 60 or 70 feet, and is horribly armed with flattened spines.

Prunus Mume is the most popular garden tree in Japan; but it isn't indigenous in that country. It came from Corea. It is an apricot and not a plum as is generally supposed. Different varieties have white, red, rose colored, or double flowers, and they open before the leaves appear. The Japanese cherry (Prunus Pseudo-Cerasus), a large forest tree of the northern mountains, is more cultivated for its flowers than any other tree in the empire. The wild tree has single white blossoms, but there are white, pink, and red flowered varieties, single or double, and when they are in blossom, the people take a holiday to enjoy them. Of the fountain-like, pendulous-branched cherry tree (Prunus pendula), Prof. Sargent saw cultivated plants 60 to 70 feet high and white branched, but he didn't find it in a wild state. Prunus Ssiori, a bird cherry tree, with pale or nearly white bark, is common in the northern forests, and recommended to our notice as a desirable garden plant. Nowadays we hear a good deal about Japanese plums, but as Prof. Sargent doesn't think there is any plum tree indigenous in Japan, he regards the plums in question as descendants of some Chinese or Indian plant.

There is only one species (Pyrus Toringo) of apple tree indigenous in Japan. It is common in our gardens under the name of Pyrus Malus floribunda. The cultivated pear tree of Japan is Pyrus Sinensis from northern China; but P. Tschonoskii, a native and rare tree of the country is a true pear tree. In central Yezo, Hydrangea paniculata, such a favorite in our gardens, becomes a tree 25 to 30 feet in height.

As forest shrubs or small trees there are two witch hazels in Japan, one, Hamamelis Japonica, has yellow flowers, and the other, H. Arborescens, round leaves and vinous red blossoms. Disanthus cercidifolia is another member of the family from central Hondo. It has dark purple flowers in October, and its leaves in fall turn deep vinous red or red and orange. It is spoken of as a desirable shrub for our gardens.

In Yezo, Aralia spinosa var. elata is a common tree, that bears great compound clusters of white flowers in September. This is not the common Dimorphanthus Manchuricus of our gardens. Acanthopanax ricinifolium, known in nurseries as Aralia Maximowiczii, is the most important member of the family. It assumes a height of 80 feet, with a trunk 4 or 5 feet in diameter. In August and September, on account of innumerable small white flowers, it is quite conspicuous in the landscape.

The flowering dogwood of Japan is Cornus kousa. It is not infrequent in our gardens under the name of Benthamia, and it blossoms and fruits plentifully with us, too. Cornus macrophylla, very similar to our American C. alternifolia, is common in the central mountains, forming trees 40 to 60 feet in height. Cornus officinalis, resembling the Cornelian cherry (C. Mas), is a native of Corea and not of Japan.

Rhododendrons or azaleas are not so showy in Japan as in America. The little evergreen shrub, Andromeda Japonica, we grow in our gardens, Prof. Sargent found to be a tree 20 feet high in the temple park at Nara. Enkianthus campanulatus, a slender, bushy tree from the mountains of Hondo, has drooping racemose panicles of white blossoms, and is spoken of as a most beautiful and worthy shrub.

The Kaki or persimmon so much cultivated in Japan is not a native of that country, but of China. The many varieties of this fruit may be divided into two sets, namely, red fruited ones that are cultivated in the southern islands, and which, too, are the ones that have found a footing in our Southern States; and ovate, thick-skinned, orange-colored ones that flourish in mountain regions of central Japan. The professor believes these northern forms would flourish in New England.

Styrax Obassia is the most valuable ornamental plant of the family; it is a small tree reaching as far north as Sapparo. It is hardy in New York. S. Japonica, also a beautiful snowdrop tree, is more plentiful in the mountains from Hondo southward. The important ash tree of the country is Fraxinus Manchurica. Planted near the borders of streams it rises to 100 feet, with a trunk 3 or 4 feet in diameter.

The camphor tree is a favorite garden evergreen in Yokohama. Lindera obtusiloba, L. triloba, and L. præcox are handsome spice-bush trees worth introducing to this country. Elæagnus umbellata is common everywhere, wild and cultivated, but E. longipes, so much esteemed by us, although frequent in gardens, was not found in a wild state.

A form of the European elm (Ulmus campestris) reaches into Yezo. A small tree supposed to be a form of Ulmus scabra, and fragrant like our slippery elm, is plentiful near Sapparo. The Keaki (Zelkora Keaki) is the largest deciduous tree in Japan, and its most valuable timber tree, and perhaps it is the only one of the country worth introducing to America as a forest tree. Cultivated specimens were seen 100 feet high, by eight or nine feet in diameter. In Dr. Hall's garden in Rhode Island, and raised from seed sent here in 1862, there are Keaki trees 50 feet high and in fine condition.

The paper mulberries belong either to the extreme south or to China, but the white mulberry is found in the primeval forests of Yezo. The fig trees, too, belong to the south.

Japan is poor in nut trees. Juglans Sieboldiana, a wide-branched tree about 50 feet high, and resembling our butternut, is common in the Yezo forests. Its nuts are borne in long racemes. It is hardy, and ripens fruit in New England. The English walnut, although cultivated in gardens there, is not a native of Japan. Pterocarya rhoifolia, on the slopes of Mount Hakkodo, becomes a large and important timber tree 80 feet high.

The common white birch of Europe and Asia, and three distinct varieties of it, occur in Yezo. One of these—Tauschii—a slender tree 80 feet high, is worth introducing to this country. So, too, is Betula Maximowicziana, a beautiful birch tree 80 to 90 feet high, with a trunk 2 to 3 feet in diameter, and orange-colored bark, which is one of the handsomest trees in Japan. Betula Ermani, with white bark, is the most common birch in the high mountains of Hondo. Near Lake Yumoto was found a black-barked birch, which is not unlike our Betula lenta, and which has been referred to B. serra.

Alnus Japonica, a pyramidal tree 60 to 80 feet tall, is the largest and handsomest alder in the empire, and it thrives well in cultivation in America. Alnus incana, which is only a shrub with us, becomes a tree 50 to 60 feet high in Japan. Alnus firma, although planted by the edges of the rice fields near Tokio, was not found wild; the variety multinervis, however, a graceful tree 20 to 30 feet high, was frequent on dry, rocky soil in the high mountains of Hondo.

Japan has six species of hornbeam (Carpinus), three of which are natives of the country, but there is some doubt about the others. America has only one, Europe only one. Carpinus laxiflora, a graceful tree of 50 feet, is common in Hondo. Carpinus carpinus (also called C. Japonica), 40 to 50 feet high, of the Hakone and Nikko mountains, thrives well in New England. The most beautiful tree of all, however, is C. cordata of the forests of Yezo. These two last named have furrowed bark. An Ostrya, or hop hornbeam, very similar to our American tree (O. Virginica), occurs in Japan. But as Prof. Sargent saw it growing in the forests of Yezo he has no doubt of its specific distinctness, and has named it Ostrya Japonica.

The oaks of Japan resemble those of the Old World, and there is nothing to correspond with our red, black, scarlet, black jack, willow, shingle, Turkey, Spanish, water, pin, or chestnut oaks. Quercus dentata (the Daimio oak of gardens) on gravelly plains near Sapparo reaches eighty feet in height, with a trunk three feet in diameter, and has leaves a foot long by eight inches broad. Young trees are handsome, mature ones are not, but it is the only deciduous oak tree that the Japanese plant in their gardens. A variety (pinnatifida) was seen in the botanic garden at Tokio; it also has been introduced to European and American gardens. In the forests of Yezo are found two white oaks, Quercus crispula and Q. grosseserrata, the latter probably identical with Q. Mongolica. South of Volcano Bay, Q. glandulifera is abundant. Springing up in waste land the common Asiatic Q. serrata occurs. In the grounds of a temple on the Nakasendo, Q. variabilis, a noble tree 80 feet high with trunk 3 or 4 feet in diameter, was seen. Its corky bark is used as cork. Also planted with the last named was Q. acuta, an evergreen oak 80 feet high. But the finest oak in Japan, the professor said, was a specimen of the evergreen Q. gilva in the temple grounds at Nara; it was about 100 feet high with an even unbranched trunk of 50 feet, and of a girth of 21 feet, 5 feet from the ground. Evergreen oaks are common in Japanese gardens, Q. cuspidata and Q. glauca being the most plentiful.

The chestnut tree grows as far north as central Yezo. The largest fruits appeared in the markets of Kobe and Osaka, and these are what are sent to the San Francisco markets. In the markets of Aomori, much further north, however, large chestnuts grown in the neighborhood were also offered for sale. Were we to get these Aomori nuts, and not the Kobe or Osaka ones, and raise trees from them we should probably be able to get a race of Japan chestnut trees that would live and bear well in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Massachusetts. In Japan the trees are seldom over 30 feet high, but saplings 10 or 12 feet high are covered with fruit.

The beech is one of the noblest trees of the forest, and occurs from Yezo southward through the mountains of the other islands. It is the Asiatic form of the European Fagus sylvatica. Prof. Sargent doubts the existence of the reputed variety Sieboldii.

Salix subfragilis, a beautiful tree fifty feet high, in perfection on the banks of streams near Sapporo, appeared to be the only Japanese willow of real horticultural value.

Two poplars, one a variety of aspen, and the other a balsam, were found. The Professor is inclined to give the aspen specific honors, when its name will be Populus Sieboldii, and reduce the other (P. suaveolens) from specific rank to that of a form of the balsam poplar.

The Japanese arbor-vitæ, Thuja Japonica, not unlike T. gigantea of our northwest coast, is rare in Japan. It is one of our handsomest garden evergreens. In the high Nikko Mountains Thuyopsis dolobrata forms an under shrub in the shade of hemlock forests, escaping in favorable positions to form a tree forty to fifty feet high. Chamæcyparis (Retinospora) obtusa is the most valuable of Japanese conifers, and the most planted for timber. It prefers granitic soils, and grows to 100 feet in height, with a stem 3 feet in diameter, and a trunk 50 or 60 feet without a branch. Chamæcyparis pisifera is not as valuable a tree as obtusa. Of both species several varieties are cultivated in our gardens. The Sugi or Cryptomeria Japonica is the most generally planted timber tree of Japan, and a noble tree it is, forming shaft-like stems 100 to 125 feet high. There is a grand avenue of these trees at Nikko.

The Gingko, although one of the most beautiful trees to be found in Japan, is really not a native of that country; indeed, it is unknown in a wild state. Tumion (Torreya nuciferum), a tree usually twenty to thirty feet tall, near Agematsu, grows into specimens eighty feet high, with trunks four to five feet in diameter, and is a yew-like tree of great beauty. The yew, Taxus cuspidata, becomes a handsome tree on the low hills of Yezo. In eastern America it is the best and hardiest of all the yews we cultivate for ornament. Although two species of Podocarpus, namely, Macrophylla and Nageia, are cultivated there, it is not thought the genus is indigenous in Japan. The umbrella pine, Sciadopitys, grows on the mountains of Mino in countless thousands, often forming tall straight trunks to a height of a hundred feet. As a shrub, or sharply pyramidal small tree, it is hardy, and grows well in our gardens.

There are five species of pine trees in Japan: two, the black pine (P. Thunbergii), and the red pine (P. densiflora), are valuable timber trees. Pinus parviflora is a beautiful small tree of high mountain forests; P. pentaphylla is a very rare tree of southern Yezo; and the fifth is P. pumila, an alpine shrub, also indigenous in America, and like the stone pine of Europe. The three last named are five-leaved pines. Japan has four species of spruce trees, namely, Picea polita, which was found in the Nikko Mountains, P. bicolor (P. Alcockiana of gardens), of central Hondo, both wretched, forlorn-looking trees; P. Ajanensis, the common spruce of Yezo, and P. Glehni, a tree of southern Yezo and not yet introduced to cultivation. Two hemlocks occur in Japan, one, Tsuga diversifolia, forms vast forests in the high Nikko Mountains; the other, Tsuga Tsuga, in groves mixed with other trees, grows in the mountain forests south of Nikko. The last named is not uncommon in our